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the Shire River to within about 15 miles from Liwonde's headquarters, and though he frequently tours his chiefdom in this area I have never known him to cross his boundary. The position of Nyambi here is interesting in that originally Nyambi's chiefdom was part of the Liwonde district. It was made part of this district in the early days of the Administration when Nyambi II, Nkata's sister's son who founded the chiefdom, opposed the reigning Jalasi and moved into the area where the chiefdom is now situated. The implication of Nyambi's being in Liwonde district was that he had to sit on District Councils in Zomba with Kawinga and Liwonde instead of with Jalasi in Fort Johnston. I understand that since the original Nyambi died his several successors have made requests to the Administration to be included in the Fort Johnston district. Finally in 1948 the request was granted and Nyambi's chiefdom was once more linked with his perpetual son's in Fort Johnston district.

The opposition of the chiefdoms as wholes appears in other situations as well, often when it is not expected. For example, there are two tobacco markets in the area studied. One is in Nyambi's area and the other is about 25 miles away at Mlomba's village in the extreme south of Kawinga's area. Mlomba is a uterine brother of the present Kawinga. Chiwalo's chiefdom abuts Nyambi's and tobacco growers need to transport their produce only six or seven miles to the market in Nyambi's area. Yet several growers told me that they were taking their produce the 25 miles to Mlomba market because they felt in some vague way that the Chiwalo people got lower prices for their tobacco in the Nyambi market than the Nyambi people.

The cleavage between the chiefdoms is also expressed in their religion. Kawinga, Liwonde, Jalasi and Nyambi are all Moslems and very few of their followers are Christian. Malemia is a Christian and very few of his followers are Moslems. But between Kawinga and Liwonde on one hand, and Jalasi and Nyambi on the other hand, there is a cleavage in terms of a schism among the Moslems. One group, the *twaliki*, became centred at Jalasi's court village Majuni. The *twaliki* believe that Islamic devotions should be accompanied by loud singing and chanting of Arabic tracts and by particularly vigorous dancing. Even at funerals this type of prayer is required. The other sect, the *sukutu*, centred at Kawinga's and Liwonde's court villages,

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advocates the more orthodox type of Islamic devotion in which a quiet restrained manner is emphasized. As far as I know the *twaliki* sect are confined entirely to Jalasi's chiefdom and the *sukutu* to Kawinga and Liwonde. In this matter, Nyambi's people side with Kawinga's and Liwonde's.

On the other hand, local informal organization is well developed so that Chiwalo who is at the point of juxtaposition of Kawinga, Liwonde, Nyambi and Jalasi chiefdoms, may try cases involving headmen from any of these areas, and they usually accept his arbitration. His is the nearest court house. The actual boundaries of the four areas, however, are very clearly recognized and Chiwalo realizes the limits of his jurisdiction. Though he may arbitrate in a difference between headmen, he would not dare to apportion land outside his area. Headmen living on the boundaries of two chiefdoms arbitrate in each other's cases; the villagers under them intermarry. A village in Chiwalo's may procure garden lands in Jalasi's area, and children may be initiated at ceremonies held by headmen in other chiefdoms. There is no clear break in the normal social relationships of people across the boundaries of chiefdoms, and their members interact as freely with each other as members of two villages of the same chiefdom. The cleavage between the villages on different sides of the boundary of a chiefdom becomes apparent only in special situations.

The formal relationships of the chiefs, set by the history of their conquests and their kinship, and incorporated in and slightly modified by the Administrative framework, are overlaid by an informal local organization where the interaction of village headmen only conforms to the formal pattern when no agreement can be reached.

The Position of the Modern Chief

In ritual situations a chiefdom is clearly differentiated from its neighbours, and many of these situations arise in the cult of tendence on the ancestor spirits. The ancestor cult has fallen away almost completely among village headmen, but among the chiefs it is still strong, and appears particularly in the rain-prayers and the initiation ceremonies. Later, I shall discuss at length the importance of the chief's sanction before headmen may conduct initiation ceremonies. This is because the spirits

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622 563 167 hand, all villages tend to disappear in time. We should therefore expect more of the headmen who came in during the earlier decades to be forgotten, and the trend should be more pronounced than it is. In fact we know from other sources that immigration of the Nguru, who represent about one-half of the Newcomers, was greatest before 1930, and it is almost certain that the figures do reflect the change in the amount of Nguru immigration, and that the factors which may operate against the trend are not important. As a whole the set of figures suggests that immigration is slowly coming to an end.

622 563 The Aborigines are all Nyanja. Among the Invaders, 70·2 per cent are Yao, 25·9 per cent are Mpotola, and the remainder 3·9 per cent are Nyanja and Nguru. The Mpotola Invaders are practically all in the Ngokwe and Chikweo areas, so that in the other areas (i.e. in Liwonde, Kawinga, Chamba and Mpoua) the Yao represent 94·9 per cent of the Invaders; the remainder are Mpotola. Under Ngokwe and Chikweo who are Mpotola chieftains, 54·5 per cent (48 of 88) of the Invaders are Mpotola, and 37·5 per cent are Yao, and the remaining 8·0 per cent are Nyanja and Nguru. Among the 486 Newcomers, 35·8 per cent of the headmen are Yao, 15·4 per cent Mpotola, 43·8 per cent Nguru and 4·9 per cent are mainly Nyanja. In general, therefore, we may say that the Aborigines are all Nyanja; the Invaders are Yao in the major area and Mpotola in the other area; and the Newcomers are predominantly Nguru from Portuguese East Africa, though there is a fair proportion of Yao who have come from other Nyasaland districts.

622 •715 747 There are significant differences among the three categories of headmen in their religious affiliations. In general there are more Moslems (71·8 per cent) among all headmen than Christians or Pagans. But there are more Moslems among the Invaders than among either the Aborigines or the Newcomers.[1] There are more Pagans among the Newcomers, but the proportion of Christians among the Aborigines and the Newcomers is about equal (25·0 per cent and 21·9 per cent). These differences in religious affiliations are consistent with the different historical backgrounds of the two groups. The Invaders are the descendants of the Yao slavers, who in the past had been in intimate

[1] Invaders = 91·1 per cent; Others = 63·9 per cent; Diff. of per cent = 27·2; S.E. of diff. = 3·7; C.R. = 7·2; $p < 0.0001$.

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TABLE VI

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF ABORIGINES, INVADERS AND NEWCOMER HEADMEN

Religious Affiliation	Numbers			Total	Percentages			Total
	Aborigine	Invader	Newcomer		Aborigine	Invader	Newcomer	
Moslems . .	17	184	296	497	70·8	91·1	63·3	71·8
Pagans . .	1	4	68	73	4·2	2·0	14·6	10·6
Church of Scotland .	3	10	59	72	12·5	5·0	12·7	10·4
Roman Catholic .	2	1	33	36	8·3	0·5	7·1	5·2
Other Christians .	1	3	10	14	4·2	1·5	2·1	2·0
Total . .	24	202	466	692	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Unknown .	1	3	20	24				
	25	205	486	716				

Combining Roman Catholic and other Christian totals.
$n = 6$; $\chi^2 = 36{\cdot}48$; $p < 0{\cdot}000001$.

contact with the Arab slave-traders and had taken over Islam from them. To-day the chiefs are still frequently called 'sultan'. All the chiefs in the Machinga area are Moslems except possibly the Malemia who was installed in 1947. He was brought up as a Christian but the strong Islamic tradition behind his status is reflected in the star and crescent on his ceremonial headdress. The Nyanja, however, were influenced by the Missions from the start and the Nguru were not as directly concerned in the slave-trade and were therefore less affected by Islam. They have been easily converted to Christianity. Among them too there are more Pagans. The difference in religion here is largely a reflex of the political relationships of the headmen. In other words, the Yao stoutly maintain that they are Moslems merely because Islam is one of the distinguishing marks of the Yao and of the Invaders in particular. It would be difficult for some of them to maintain their point in face of strict Moslems, for many of

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622 them follow the tenets of Islam in only the most cursory way.
795 An Ngura therefore admits to being a Pagan more readily than
787 a Yao, because he cannot identify himself with the Invading group.

Kinship with the Chief

692 The most important way in which the three categories differ,
693 however, is in the degree to which they are associated with the chief. While the Invaders are identified with the chief because of their association with him in the invasion, they are also tied to him to a greater degree by various kinship links than the other categories of headmen.

Although the exact composition of the Invading groups will never be known, it appears from the accounts of old men, that the groups were made up primarily of the chief and his younger brothers, together with their sons and slaves, and some unrelated followers. Other chieftaincies and village headmen have sprung from the chief's lineage. For example, Kawinga was the leader who brought the present Kawinga-Liwonde group into Nyasaland. The first man to be called Kawinga left the Lujenda River where he was living with an elder relative called Naanama, whose exact genealogical connection I have never been able to determine. Accompanying them was Liwonde, a younger brother of Kawinga. As they passed through the country just west of Lake Chiuta they encountered the Mpotola under Chikweo, and these joined up with Kawinga and his relatives and went to Kongwe on the west side of Lake Malombe (in the present Kalembo's area). From this place they were displaced by the Ngoni and returned east and south to the Chikala Range where they displaced Malemia and occupied the heights. Subsequently, Liwonde left the mountain and went to live on the Shire River where the old Government station used to be. From this point on, Kawinga and Liwonde seem to have acted almost independently. Naanama seems to have stayed with Kawinga. Chamba who was the son of the first Kawinga now set himself up as a chief on the south side of Chikala and Chaoni. Mposa, the son of the first Liwonde, moved to the shores of Lake Shirwa and set himself up there. Chiwalo, a sister's daughter's son of the first Kawinga, set himself up on the northern fringe of the area. Recently Stora, a sister's daughter's daughter's

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the last rite the owner of the oblational basket exacts a payment of threepence or so from each parent. The headman does gain financially from the initiation ceremony, but it would be wrong to imagine that this is the only reason why he should want to have the right to hold it. The competition for the rights, which are limited to a few, is part of the general political process whereby village headmen compete for privileges and advantages over their fellows.

Village headmen may hold either the boys' or the girls' initiation ceremonies, or both. Sometimes, when they hold both, they delegate the girls' ceremony to a younger brother or some other relative without referring to the chief. For example, Kawinga's clan relative and important retainer, Ngalawanga, had the rights to both initiation ceremonies, and he allowed his perpetual 'son' Isa [1] to hold the girls'. Also in Nyambi area, Majaja, who had both initiation rights, allowed his perpetual 'son' Nantunga to have the girls' ceremony. It is generally conceded that the right to hold the boys' initiation ceremonies is more valuable than the right to hold the girls'. H. L. Duff, writing in 1906, had also noticed this when he wrote:

> The respective ceremonies seem to be considered as on a somewhat different footing, for the boys' *inyago* can properly be held only at the village and under the patronage of, so to say, the paramount chief of the neighbourhood, whereas the girls' initiation may take place under the auspices of an inferior headman. This distinction is still jealously observed and any breach of the chief's privileges is apt to lead to bitter dispute.[2]

The sanction the chief holds over the headmen in this respect is mystical. A village headman believes that the initiation will be a success (that is, that the initiands will be free from the harm of wild beasts and illness, or the circumcision wounds of the boys will heal quickly and well), only if the approval of the chief's ancestors is obtained. He cannot hold the initiation ceremonies, unless he has obtained the basket from the chief.

Most people still follow tribal initiation customs, but in the extremes of the area in which I worked, religious ideas are bringing about a change. In the north in Jalasi's area where Islam

[1] The first Isa was the son of Ngalawanga and this relationship is preserved by the modern incumbents of the headmanships. See Chap. V, p. 122.

[2] Duff, H. L., *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office* (London, 1906), 312.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

is most powerful, there is a tendency for the Islamic initiation ceremony for boys, *jando*, and the Islamic initiation ceremony for girls, *nsondo*, to displace the tribal equivalents, *lupondo* and *ciputo*. These Moslem initiations are conducted by Moslem teachers (*mwalimu*) and are not controlled by the chief. Though it also involves the circumcision of the boys, *jando* is very much shorter and the boys are secluded for only a week. Some say it is becoming more popular because it is less expensive for the boys' parents. In Chiwalo's area the two ceremonies are run concurrently. The boys and girls go through the normal segregation rites at the beginning of the ceremony, but an *mwalimu* circumcises the boys according to Islamic practice. At the aggregation rites at the end of the period of seclusion, the star and crescent appears as one of the symbols along with the whale (*namungumi*), antelope (*mbalapi*), leopard (*ziwuvi*), and the other tribal effigies which are shown to the boys. Christianity in the south has had a similar effect. The Missions actively discouraged initiation ceremonies in the past. Many of the people in Mposa's and Malemia's area have dropped the custom, or have integrated prayers and other parts of Christian ritual into the ceremonies, though circumcision is steadfastly retained. The effect of these changes is that the important ritual control the chief had over the ceremony has been undermined, and so the prestige attached to it has also begun to fade in these areas. What I describe about the prestige of village headmen and the rights they have to initiation ceremonies is only partially true, and is falling away daily. The correlation I seek to establish is also disturbed by the fact that among the Nguru there is a slightly different initiation ceremony (*ridodeto*) for boys. Most Nguru send their boys to the Yao initiations but there are still some who hold their own traditional ceremonies. These are not within the mystical control of the chief so that some Nguru headmen are outside the competition for the initiation rights. I should say, however, that most compete with the Yao for Yao initiation rights so that this factor is not as disturbing as appears at first sight. In addition, village headmen who move into a new area usually must obtain the permission of the chief before they may use the initiation rights they held before coming into the area.

There are other indicators of the general high rank of village headmen. Junior headmen, like commoners, must give a special

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TABLE XX

WHO INITIATION RIGHTS WERE GRANTED TO NEWCOMERS AND INVADERS

Type of Initiation Right	By early Chiefs		By recent Chiefs*		Total
	Invaders	Newcomers	Invaders	Newcomers	
Both init. . .	8	6	3	2	19
One init. only .	9	10	3	14	36
Total . . .	17	16	6	16	55

* This is obviously a crude classification. I have taken roughly 35 years as the dividing line. As the early chiefs I have classified all the Kawinga before and including Kawinga V who died in 1913; all the Liwundes before and including Liwunde III who died in 1901; all the Ngokwera before and including Ngokwera IV who died in 1905; all the Mpeseu before and including Mpeseu II who died in 1913; and all the Chikwesa before and including Chikwesa II who died in 1914.

In other words, recent chiefs have been granting single initiation rights to invaders in the same proportion as they have been granting both rights, but they have been granting Newcomer headmen the right to hold only one ceremony more often than the right to hold both. Of the six sets of rights to initiation ceremonies granted by recent chiefs to invader headmen, three were rights to hold only one ceremony, while 14 of the 16 initiation rights granted to Newcomer headmen were for one ceremony only.[1]

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Headmen do not make use of their bonds of common religion or tribe with the chief in their competition for initiation rights. Table XXI sets out the numbers of headmen of different religion. There is a substantially smaller proportion of Pagan headmen (9·7 per cent) holding initiation ceremonies than either Christians (23·5 per cent) or Moslems (24·4 per cent).[2] Most Pagans, however, are also Newcomers so that this difference is actually a reflex of the generally lower rank of Newcomers. Table XXII sets out the number of headmen of the chief's tribe and of other

[1] i.e. 30·9 per cent against 87·5 per cent; diff. of per cent = 57·1; S.E. of diff. = 20·08; C.R. = 2·87; p = 0·0024.

[2] Pagans = 9·7 per cent; Others 24·6 per cent; diff of per cent = 14·9; S.E. of diff. = 7·34; C.R. = 2·88; p = 0·0189.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

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TABLE XXI

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INITIATION RIGHTS AMONG HEADMEN OF DIFFERENT RELIGIONS

Type of Initiation Holder	Moslem	Christian	Pagan	Total
Both init. rights . .	25	4	1	30*
Boys' init. rights only .	12	4	—	16
Girls' init. rights only .	31	6	2	39†
No init. rights . . .	211	41	28	280‡
Total	279	55	31	365

$n = 6$; $\chi^2 = 3.03$; $p = 0.13778$.

* Excludes 1 headmen whose religion was unrecorded.
† Excludes 4 headmen whose religion was unrecorded.
‡ Excludes 2 headmen whose religion was unrecorded.

TABLE XXII

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INITIATION RIGHTS AMONG HEADMEN OF THE SAME AND DIFFERENT TRIBE AS THE CHIEF

Type of Initiation Holder	Same Tribe	Different Tribe	Total
Both init. holders	20	11	31
Boys' init. holders only . . .	7	9	16
Girls' init. holders only . . .	23	20	43
No init. rights	156	126	282
Total	206	166	372
% Init. holders	24·3	24·1	24·2

$n = 3$; $\chi^2 = 0.17$; $p = 0.34167$.

tribes who hold initiation rights. Once again the proportion of headmen of the same tribe as the chief who hold initiation rights is the same as that of headmen of different tribes from the chief. We may say, therefore, that membership of tribe is not an operative factor in the granting of initiation rights.[1]

[1] The factors contributing to the granting of initiation rights are obviously all interrelated.